DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE INTELLIGENCE INFORMATION REPORT

~~NOTE: This document contains information affecting the national defense of the United States within the meaning of the espionage laws, Title 18, U.S.C., Secs. 793 and 794. The transmission or the revelation of its contents in any manner to an unauthorized person is prohibited by law.~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
(Classification and Control Markings)

This report contains unprocessed informa
Plans and/or policies should not be evalu
or modified solely on the basis of this ra
Translation

1. COUNTRY. ARGENTINA (AR)

2. SUBJECT: (U) Argentine Subversive Organizations

3. ISC NUMBER: N/A

4. DATE OF INFORMATION: 761216

5. PLACE AND DATE OF ACQ: 761221
Buenos Aires, Argentina

6. EVALUATION: SOURCE [ ] INFORMATION [ ]

7. SOURCE (b)(3):10 USC 424

8. REPORT NUMBER: (b)(3):10 USC 424

9. DATE OF REPORT: 761223

10. NO. OF PAGES: 1

(b)(3):50 USC 3024(i)

12. ORIGINATOR: (b)(3):10 USC 424

13. PREPARED BY

(b)(3):10 USC 424

(b)(3):10 USC 424

15. SUMMARY:

(Leave Blank)

~~(C)~~ The attached document provides sketchy summaries of the history, structure, international links and status of subversive organizations operating in Argentina in the last few years. According to the report the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) and several minor groups have been virtually neutralized. Only the Montoneros, though badly hurt, retain the capability to undertake selective or indiscriminate terrorist operations.

THIS PARTIALLY FULFILLS (b)(3):10 USC 424

REC'D DS-4B 5 JAN '11

(b)(3):10 USC 424;Sec. 3.3(b) (1)

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
Authority: EO 13526
DIA FOIA & Declassification Services Offices
Date: *Oct 17, 2018*

16. DISTRIBUTION BY ORIGINATOR:

USCINCSO/SC-12AD w/o encl.
DIA/DS-6A w/o encl.

17. DOWNGRADING DATA:

(b)(3):10 USC 424

CLASSIFIED [ ]
EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION SCHEDULE OF EXECU-

18. ATTACHMENT DATA:

Enclosure:
1) ~~(C)~~ One publication
ARGENTINA . La Subversion
2) TRANSLATION of encl 1
LN-111-77

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ARGENTINA

La Subversión

I. Cuadro de situación de las organizaciones subversivas

II. Estructura del Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo

III. Estructura de la organización Montoneros

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
DIA FOIA & Declassification Services Offices
Date: *Oct 17, 2018*

Diciembre 16, 1976

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(b)(3):10 USC 424

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
DIA FOIA & Declassification Services Offices
Date: Oct 17, 2018

1. CUADRO DE SITUACION DE LAS ORGANIZACIONES SUBVERSIVAS

ORGANIZACIONES	SITUACION A DICIEMBRE DE 1974	SITUACION A DICIEMBRE DE 1976
Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP).	Había formado 4 compañías de combate con 500 hombres Acababa de obtener éxito en la Fábrica Militar de Villa María y había asesinado a oficiales.	Todas las compañías han sido desarticuladas. Cuenta con células aisladas. Su Estado Mayor y Comando han sido aniquilados y ha muerto su jefe (Santucho).
ERP Franja Roja.	Siendo un grupo reducido había conseguido un contingente de combatientes extranjeros. Se aprestaba a realizar operaciones en la zona bonaerense	Ha sido totalmente aniquilada.
ERP 22 de Agosto actualmente Ejercito Nacional Revolucionario.	Era una organización pequeña que había realizado acciones aisladas, como los asesinatos de Genta y Saccheri.	Ha sido totalmente aniquilada.
Brigadas Rojas del Poder Obrero.	Comenzaba a organizarse en Córdoba, Buenos Aires y Mar del Plata, con grupor de otras organizaciones (ERP-22 y FAL).	He perdido su conducción. Cuenta con escasas células ailadas.
Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación (FAL).	Con su aparato militar diezmado y anarquizado, la columna "Che Guevara" y la "Inti Peredo" comenzaban a accionar.	Ha sido totalmente aniquilada.
Montoneros	Había pasado a la "clandestinidad" en septiembre reanudando la lucha armada. Se organizaba en Regionales y estas en Columnas.	Ha sufrido grandes pérdidas en su aparato político y militar, así como en su apoyo exterior. De sus cuatro jefes nacionales, ha sido abatido uno y otro se asiló.

ORGANIZACIONES	SITUACION A DICIEMBRE DE 1974	SITUACION A DICIEMBRE DE 1976
Fuerzas Armadas Peronistas (FAP)	Tenía un aparato militar reducido pero muy adiestrado. Realizaba operaciones aisladas en el ámbito fábril (asesinatos, secuestros, etc.)	Ha sido totalmente aniquilada.
Comandos Populares de Liberación (CPL).	Tenía un pequeño aparato militar en Córdoba.	Ha sido totalmente aniquilada.

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
DIA FOIA & Declassification Services Offices
Date: *Oct 17, 2018*

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
DIA FOIA & Declassification Services Offices
Date: Oct 17, 2018

La subversión en la Argentina remonta su origen al año 1959, con la guerrilla del "Comandante Uturunco", de filiación marxista peronista, que operó durante algunas semanas en el monte tucumano. En 1965, aborta otro intento, denominado Ejercito Popular Guerrillero (EPG), que operó al este de Salta, de filiación castrista, que tenía intención de conectarse con la incursión del Che Guevara en territorio boliviano. En 1968, un grupo del sector que después constituyó las FAP -Fuerzas Armadas Peronistas-, fué desarticulado en la provincia de Tucumán por la policía provincial. La toma de la Guardia del Regimiento 1 de Infanteria,-de maniobras en Campo de Mayo, marca el primer hecho militar de la subversión, en 1969.

Paralelamente, se desarrolla la base de la guerrilla urbana. En 1965 estalla en un departamento de la Capital, el arsenal de lo que después fuera el ERP, muriendo varios miembros del PRT sector "El Combatiente". Por ese entonces, se desprende del MNT (Tacuara), un sector de izquierda, que se denominó Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario Tacuara (MNRT), que entró en contacto con los iniciadores de los Tupamaros, que curiosamente tenían la misma sigla.

De diversos fraccionamientos y subdivisiones de los grupos de choque de la Federación Juvenil Comunista (FJC), surgen dos organizaciones, que se inician en 1970: las FAL y las FAR. La primera, de ideología maoista, sufrió pérdidas decisivas durante el Gobierno militar, de las que no se recuperó nunca, a lo que se agregó un proceso de atomización y fraccionamiento. La segunda, tuvo origen castrista, -FAR era la denominación de la guerrilla de Fidel Castro-, y paulatinamente fué girando hacia el peronismo, confluyendo con los Montoneros, en Junio de 1973.

En 1970, tambien empiezan a operar las FAP, en base a grupos de choque de la CGT "de los argentinos", que lideraba Raimundo Ongaro. Teniendo por ámbito principal de acción los sectores obreros, nunca llegaron a unificarse con FAR y Montoneros. Tuvo dos escisiones: las FAP-17, que lideraba Elbar el Kadre, abandonaron la lucha armada, cuando los Montoneros rompieron con Perón; y otro sector, que encabezado por Carlos Caride, se integró a Montoneros en 1974.

Recientemente se habrían dado algunos pasos tendientes a unificar a los restos de diversas organizaciones subversivas en un frente común, denominado Organización de Liberación Popular (OLP).

Despues del 24 de marzo, la agrupación maoista "Vanguardia Comunista", tambien decidió sumarse a la lucha armada, teniendo participación en el secuestro del Coronel Juan Alberto Pita, que recientemente logró evadirse de sus captores. Esta agrupación no ha conseguido formar un aparato militar.

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
DIA FOIA & Declassification Services Offices
Date: Oct 17, 2018

En términos globales, podrían definirse seis etapas en el desarrollo de la subversión en nuestro país:

1. La configurada por los diversos intentos frustrados por desarrollar una guerrilla de tipo rural, que tiene lugar de 1959 a 1969.

2. La de la iniciación del accionar subversivo, que va de 1969 a 1971, teniendo como epicentro a 1970, con el secuestro de Aramburu, toma de Garín, etc.

3. La consolidación de las organizaciones y la clarificación política e ideológica de las mismas, que se desarrolla durante 1972 y 1973.

4. La del accionar predominantemente político, que se desarrolla rurante 1973, -Gobierno de Hector J. Campora-, y que se proyecta durante el primer semestre de 1974, cuando las organizaciones dejaron transitoriamente la clandestinidad.

5. La de la reiniciación de la lucha armada, -y el lanzamiento de la ofensiva contra las Fuerzas Armadas,- que se desarrolla durante los años 1974 y 1975.

6. La de la derrota de las organizaciones subversivas, que tiene como hito fundamental el fracaso del ERP en Tucumán y la toma del Gobierno por las Fuerzas Armadas, en marzo del corriente año.

El ciclo de 17 años desarrollado por la subversión armada en nuestro país, tiene estrecha relación con el accionar subversivo en el continente. En 1959, obtenía éxito la guerrilla castrista en Cuba. En 1976, todos los paises limítrofes han superado sus experiencias subversivas, siendo la Argentina, donde se debaten los restos de la guerrilla.

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
DIA FOIA & Declassification Services Offices
Date: Oct 17, 2018

II. ESTRUCTURA MILITAR DEL EJERCITO REVOLUCIONARIO DEL PUEBLO - ERP

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ORIGEN

Se origina en la decisión de la IV Internacional, sector "Secretariado Unificado", de militarizar la lucha en latinoamérica, tomada durante el noveno congreso de la organización (París, 1969). En la Argentina se concreta a través del Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores -PRT-.

ESCISIONES

1. ERP "Franja Roja", que surge en enero de 1973, al cuestionar el ERP los lineamientos de la IV Internacional, después del viaje de Santucho a Cuba.

2. ERP "22 de Agosto", surge en enero de 1973, de un enfrentamiento producido en la regional Buenos Aires, por la posición a doptar frente al peronismo.

ESTRUCTURA MILITAR (en 1975)

Tenía cuatro Compañías de Combate:

1. Compañía "Héroes de Trelew", que operaba en la provincia de Buenos Aires. Atacó al Regimiento de Caballería de Azul, en enero de 1974.

2. Compañía "Decididos de Córdoba", operaba en Córdoba y sus proximidades. Tomó la Fábrica Militar de Villa María, en agosto de 1974.

3. Compañía "San Lorenzo", operaba en Santa Fé y el Litoral. Tomo el Batallón de Arsenales de Rosario, en abril de 1975.

4. Compañía de Monte "Ramón Rosa Giménez", operaba en Tucumán. A comienzos de 1975 se estaba formando una segunda Compañía de Monte.

ESTRUCTURA POLITICA

1. Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores, brazo político de la organización y núcleo ideológico de la misma.
2. Juventud Guevarista, organización Juvenil del ERP que trabajaba en los establecimientos de enseñanza secundaria.
3. Respuesta Estudiantil, agrupación universitaria que nuclea a los estudiantes que adhieren a la línea política del ERP.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
DIA FOIA & Declassification Services Offices
Date: Oct 17, 2018

VINCULACIONES INTERNACIONALES DEL E.R.P.

1. En 1972 se aleja de la IV Internacional con sede en París, Francia, y pasa a operar en la órbita de Cuba, contando con el apoyo de la estructura internacional del comunismo.

2. En 1974 el comando internacional de esta organización se traslada a Lisboa, Portugal.

3. Actualmente su centro de apoyo internacional se habría trasladado a España.

4. Integra la Junta Coordinadora Revolucionaria-JCR formada por el MNT (Uruguay), el MIR (Chile) y el ENL (Bolivia). Ultimamente se habría acercado al FTP (Paraguay) y un grupo subversivo que opera en el estado brasileño de Paraná.

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
DIA FOIA & Declassification Services Offices
Date: Oct 17, 2018

La primera acción del ERP como tal, fue el estallido de 17 bombas en distintos lugares de Rosario y la distribución de panfletos en diversos lugares de esa ciudad, en marzo de 1970. Ese mismo mes, actuaban durante el "vivorazo" en Córdoba, elementos de esa organización. El secuestro de un directivo de una empresa frigorífica extranjera, ese mismo año, proveyó a la organización ERP de cuantiosos fondos.

En el aspecto ideológico, el ERP tenía neta filiación trotkista, siguiendo la línea del sector "Secretariado Unificado" de la IV Internacional que tiene su sede en París,Francia. Ya en 1965 se había producido una ruptura en el PRT -Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores-, expresión política del trotkismo en el orden local, del que surgieron el PRT "La Verdad", que sin sumarse a la lucha armada, en 1972 se integró al Partido Socialista de los trabajadores (PST) y por otro lado el PRT "El Combatiente" que cinco años despues, en 1970, formo el ERP.

Dos años despues, en 1972,se produce un hecho decisivo para la orientación ideológica del ERP. A raíz de la fuga del Penal de Rawson, Mario Roberto Santucho viaja a Cuba, donde permanece varios meses. A partir del viaje de Santucho, la organización se aleja paulatinamente de la IV Internacional Trotkista y se alinea en la órbita del comunismo internacional, respaldándose en el eje Rusia-Cuba. Debido a este cambio de frente, en enero de 1973 se produce una ruptura en la regional Buenos Aires, dando origen al ERP "Franja Roja", que siguió en la línea de la IV Internacional.

A partir del triunfo de Héctor J. Campora el ERP permanece inactivo hasta septiembre de 1973, en que toma por asalto el Comando de Sanidad del Ejército. Ese año, la conducción de la organización toma la decisión de "militarizar" sus cuadros, adoptando formas castrenses en su organización y metodología. Esta tendencia se acentúa durante el año 1974, en donde inclusive llegan a adoptar diversos grados del escalafón militar.

Simultaneamente, el ERP planifica y desarrolla las bases de la guerrilla rural, con epicentro en el sudoeste de la provincia de Tucumán. Como dato ilustrativo cabe citar que, un hermano de Mario Roberto Santucho se desempeñó,hasta diciembre de 1973, como Director Provincial de Aeronáutica de Tucumán. La culminación de la guerrilla rural, tiene lugar en el último trimestre de 1974, cuando la Compañía de Monte "Ramón Rosa Giménez", llegó a concretar casi una acción diaria en la zona rural de Tucumán. Una idea de la evolución de esta organización, la dan las acciones mas importantes emprendidas contra el Ejército.

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
DIA FOIA & Declassification Services Offices
Date: Oct 17, 2018

Las mencionadas acciones fueron cronológicamente las siguientes:

1. Toma del Comando de Sanidad del Ejército, en septiembre de 1973.

2. Ataque al Regimiento 10 de Tiradores Blindados de Tandil, donde la organización fracasó, pero logró secuestrar al Coronel Ibarzabal, en enero de 1974.

3. Toma de la Fábrica Militar de Villa María en agosto de 1974, donde fué secuestrado el Coronel Larrabure.

4. Intento de copamiento del Regimiento 17 de Infantería Aerotransportado en la provincia de Catamarca, que fuera frustrado antes de efectivizarse, en agosto de 1974.

5. Asesinato de oficiales de las Fuerzas Armadas en forma individual, durante el último trimestre de 1974, que culmina con el asesinato del Mayor Viola y su hija de corta edad.

6. Toma del Batallón de Arsenales 121, ubicado en San Lorenzo, Santa Fé.

7. Intento de copamiento del Puesto Comando Táctico de Avanzada en la localidad de Famaillá, Tucumán, en abril de 1974, donde la organización fué derrotada y perdió toda su documentación, en mayo de 1975.

8. Combates en la zona de operaciones de Tucumán, en septiembre de 1975, donde fueron abatidos 14 elementos subversivos y marcó la derrota de la Compañía de Monte del ERP, en Acheral.

9. Intento de copamiento del Batallón de Arsenales 601, donde la organización fué derrotada y perdió casi un centenar de combatientes de la Compañía "Héroes de Trelew".

La caida de Mario Roberto Santucho y el Estado Mayor de esta organización guerrillera, en julio del corriente año, fué el hecho que marca la derrota definitiva del ERP. Para entonces, Santucho había sido relevado del Comando militar y se disponía a viajar a Cuba para integrar el Buró político, dejando a Máximo Mena al frente de la organización.

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
DIA FOIA & Declassification Services Offices
Date: Oct 17, 2018

CONFIDENTIAL

III. ESTRUCTURA DE LA ORGANIZACION MONTONEROS

ORIGEN

Nace en 1970, de la fusión de grupos nacionalistas, social-cristianos, peronistas combativos y marxistas. Varios de sus dirigentes fueron instruídos en Cuba. Su primer operativo fué el secuestro de Aramburu.

ESCISIONES

1. Columna "Sabino Navarro", se distancia de la organización en el verano de 1973, ubicándose más a la izquierda, vincu - lándose al ERP-22 y las FAP.

2. Columna "Artigas", se separa de la organización en febrero de 1974, a raíz del enfrentamiento de la Tendencia Revolucionaria con Perón.

ESTRUCTURA MILITAR

Esta organizada con cuatro jefes nacionales, de los que dependen las "Columnas" agrupadas en "Regionales".

1. Uno de los jefes nacionales es Mario Firmenich, quien tendría responsabilidades de conducción política. Se estima que podría caer en pocos días.

2. Otro de los jefes sería el dirigente Vaca Narvaja, quien comandó el ataque al Regimiento 29 de Infantería de Monte, con asiento en Formosa.

3. El tercero, Molina, fué abatido hace dos meses, durante un enfrentamiento con las Fuerzas Armadas en el Gran Bs. As.

4. El cuarto es Mendizábal, que hace pocas semanas se asiló en la embajada de Venezuela, y fué quien realizó la conferencia de prensa en la que apareció Ana María González.

ESTRUCTURA POLITICA

1. La CGT de la "Resistencia", embrión de central obrera paralela, articulada por la organización, en base al Bloque Sindical.

2. El Partido Peronista Auténtico (PPA), brazo político de la organización.

3. La Juventud Universitaria Peronista (JUP), versión universitaria de la organización.

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
DIA FOIA & Declassification Services Offices
Date: Oct 17, 2018

4. La Unión de Estudiantes Secundarios (UES), que actúa en los colegios secundarios.

5. La Agencia de Noticias Clandestina (ANCLA), que difunde despachos informativos a los diversos medios, que incluso han sido publicados en Europa Occidental.

VINCULACIONES
INTERNACIONALES

1. Contaría con el apoyo de Cuba, que se manifestaría en forma indirecta.

2. Ha constituído un centro de "reubicación" de exilados en Austria, con apoyo de la Social-Democracia.

3. Cuenta con sólidas vinculaciones con la izquierda del laborismo inglés, como pudo comprobarse en la última reunión de la OIT realizada en Ginebra.

4. Esta organizando un centro de difusión de información en España, en el que colaboran varios periodistas y artistas exilados.

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
DIA FOIA & Declassification Services Offices
Date: Oct 17, 2018

Los comienzos de la organización Montoneros son difusos, en razón de la heterogeneidad de sus primeros integrantes, que incluso provenian del nacionalismo católico. El secuestro y asesinato de Aramburu, marca la primera acción de la organización como tal. Elementos de ella habrían participado en los asesinatos de los dirigentes síndicales Vandor y Alonso.

Su identificación con el peronismo, le otorgó cierto apoyo popular , durante los primeros años (1970-1973), que le permitió ensanchar sus fuentes de reclutamiento y su red logística. Su unificación con las FAR -Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias- en junio de 1973, tiene importancia decisiva por dos razones: a) Pasó a contar con un grupo combatiente fogueado, elemento del que carecia, ya que una de sus características fue la falta de organización de sus formaciones militares. b) El hecho influyó decisivamente para un giro hacia posiciones francamente marxistas por parte de la organización, al promediar 1973.

En lo que hace a la orientación ideológica, al igual que el ERP, el viaje a Cuba de los fugados del Penal de Rawson, -por Montoneros estuvieron en Cuba Firmenich y Vaca Narvaja-, fué un hecho decisivo que llevó a la organización hacia la órbita del eje Rusia-Cuba. Así mismo, acentuó el contenido ideológico de la conducción.

El 25 de mayo de 1973, anuncia publicamente la suspensión de la lucha armada. Esta situación se prolonga hasta mayo de 1974, en que la Tendencia Revolucionaria del Peronismo, -integrante de la organización Montoneros-, rompe definitivamente con Perón. En septiembre de ese año, pasa formalmente a la clandestinidad, con una conferencia de prensa del mismo Firmenich.

Hasta entonces acrecentó su estructura política integrada por:

1. El Partido Peronista Autentico (PPA), expresión política, que llegó a presentar 70.000 fichas de afiliación en dieciseis distritos electorales, en los cuales obtuvo reconocimiento como partido político.

2. La Juventud Universitaria Peronista (JUP), que actuaba en la enseñanza superior.

3. La Unión de Estudiantes Secundarios (UES), que actuaba en los establecimientos de enseñanza media.

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
DIA FOIA & Declassification Services Offices
Date: Oct 17, 2018

CONFIDENTIAL

4. La Juventud Peronista (JP), que reunía a los sectores juveniles.

5. La Juventud Trabajadora Peronista (JTP), que nucleaba a los sectores sindicales que despues se denominó "Bloque Sindical".

6. La Agrupación Evita, que reunía a la rama femenina.

7. El Movimiento Villero Peronista (MVP), que actuaba en las villas de emergencia.

8. El Movimiento de Inquilinos Peronistas (MIP), que reunía a los inquilinos que adherían a la organización.

9. El Movimiento Infantil Peronista (MIP), que se articuló en la Regional Santa Fé, en algunos colegios primarios

Todo este diagrama muestra la penetración de la organización en el cuerpo social, lo cual dificulta su desarticulación.

La situación de Montoneros al mes de diciembre, podría sintetizarse asi:

1. La derrota del ERP lleva el esfuerzo principal de las Fuerzas Armadas y de Seguridad sobre esta organización, lo que empieza a evidenciarse con este hecho.

2. La organización ha sufrido una pérdida considerable en su conducción político-militar, que le exige una reorganización en su primer nivel.

3. Pese a ello, todavía cuenta con medios para realizar acciones de terrorismo selectivo o indiscriminado, con el objetivo de demostrar vigencia en momentos en que la subversión en general sufre perdidas crecientes.

4. La organización parece haber aplicado un esfuerzo prioritario al ámbito fábril: intenta impulsar la formación de la CGT de la Resistencia, ensayando constituirla en distintas zonas del país, en base a los restos de la Juventud Trabajadora Peronista y el Bloque Sindical.

Dados recientes informes y teniendo en cuenta los éxitos obtenidos por las Fuerzas Armadas en la represión de Montoneros, es previsible que en los próximos días caiga Mario Firmenich.

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DEFENSE INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20301

TRANSLATION

REQUESTER	TRANSLATOR'S INITIALS	TRANSLATION NUMBER	DATE COMPLETED	ENCL(S) TO I R NO.
SEE DIA FORM 699 W/ORIGINAL DOCUMENT	WS/	LN-111-77	26MAY77	

LANGUAGE	GEOGRAPHIC AREA (If different from place of publication)
SPANISH	(b)(3):10 USC 424

ENGLISH TITLE OF TRANSLATION	PAGE NOS. TRANSLATED FROM ORIG DOC.
(b)(3):10 USC 424 ARGENTINE SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS (U)	13

FOREIGN TITLE OF TRANSLATION
LA SUBVERSION

AUTHOR(S)	FOREIGN TITLE OF DOCUMENT (Complete only if different from title of translation)
NOT INDICATED	

PUBLISHER	DATE AND PLACE OF PUBLICATION

COMMENTS
PARTS I & II TRANSLATED BY (b)(3) 10 U.S.C. 42 CO A, 519TH MI BN, FT BRAGG, NC
PART III TRANSLATED BY [redacted] CO A, 519TH MI BN, FT BRAGG, NC

TRANSLATION

SEE INCLOSURE.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
DIA FOIA & Declassification Services Offices
Date: *Oct 17, 2018*

(b)(3):10 USC 424

[redacted]

REGRADE UNCLASSIFIED WHEN SEPARATED FROM CLASSIFIED INCLOSURES

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Encl 2 (b)(3):10 USC 424

DIA FORM 558 (6-72) OPI: DS-4A4

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ARGENTINA

THE SUBVERSION

I. DESCRIPTION OF THE SITUATION OF THE SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS

II. STRUCTURE OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY ARMY

III. STRUCTURE OF THE MONTONEROS ORGANIZATION

(b)(3):10 USC 424

~~Classified by~~
~~EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION~~
~~SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652~~
~~EXEMPTION CATEGORY 2~~
~~DECLASSIFY ON 31 DEC 2004~~

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
DIA FOIA & Declassification Services Offices
Date: *Oct 17, 2018*

16 DECEMBER 1976

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

I. DESCRIPTION OF THE SITUATION OF THE SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS

ORGANIZATIONS	SITUATION TO DECEMBER 1974	SITUATION TO DECEMBER 1976
PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY ARMY (ERP)	4 COMBAT COMPANIES WITH 500 MEN HAVE BEEN FORMED. JUST HAD SUCCESS IN THE MILITARY PLANT* OF VILLA MARIA AND HAVE ASSASSINATED OFFICIALS (*TN: PLANT, FACTORY, OR STRUCTURE ARE ALL POSSIBLE TRANSLATIONS).	ALL THE COMPANIES HAVE BEEN DISBANDED. THEY COUNT ON ISOLATED CELLS. THEIR HEADQUARTERS AND COMMAND HAVE BEEN ANNIHILATED, AND THEIR CHIEF (SANTUCHO) HAS DIED.
ERP FRANJA ROJA	BEING REDUCED IN SIZE, THE GROUP HAS OBTAINED A CONTINGENT OF FOREIGN COMBATANTS. IT IS PREPARED TO CARRY OUT OPERATIONS IN THE BUENOS AIRES AREA.	THE GROUP HAS BEEN COMPLETELY ANNIHILATED.
ERP 22D OF AUGUST. PRO-CLY THE NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY ARMY	IT WAS A SMALL ORGANIZATION THAT HAD CARRIED OUT ISOLATED ACTIONS SUCH AS THE ASSASSINATION OF GENTA AND SACHERI.	THE ORGANIZATION HAS BEEN COMPLETELY ANNIHILATED.
RED BRIGADES OF THE LABOR POWER	BEGAN TO ORGANIZE IN CORDOBA, BUENOS AIRES AND MAR DEL PLATA WITH GROUPS OF OTHER ORGANIZATIONS (ERP-22 AND FAL).	HAS LOST IT'S MOMENTUM. COUNTS ON SCARCE ISOLATED CELLS.
ARMED FORCES OF LIBERATION (FAL)	WITH THEIR MILITARY MACHINE DECIMATED AND ANARCHIZED, THE SUPPORTER "CHE GUEVARA" AND THE "INTI PEREDO" BEGAN TO OPERATE.	HAS BEEN COMPLETELY ANNIHILATED.
MONTONEROS (TN: MONTONEROS IS THE NAME OF AN ORGANIZATION. THE WORD MEANS BUSHWACKERS, GUERRILLAS, OR A GROUP OF MOUNTED REVOLUTIONARIES)	WENT UNDERGROUND IN SEPTEMBER, RENEWING THE ARMED STRUGGLE. HAD ORGANIZED IN REGIONAL GROUPS AND TROOPS.	HAS SUFFERED SEVERE LOSSES IN IT'S MILITARY AND POLITICAL MACHINE, AS WITH IT'S FOREIGN SUPPORT. OF THEIR NATIONAL CHIEFS, ONE HAS BEEN DEPORTED AND ANOTHER HAS BEEN COMMITTED TO AN ASYLUM.

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
DIA FOIA & Declassification Services Offices
Date: Oct 17, 2018

ORGANIZATIONS	SITUATION TO DECEMBER 1974	SITUATION TO DECEMBER 1976
PERONIST ARMED FORCES (FAP)	HAD A REDUCED BUT WELL TRAINED MILITARY MACHINE. CARRIED OUT ISOLATED OPERATIONS IN THE LABOR'S CIRCUIT (ASSASSINATIONS, KIDNAPPINGS, ETC.)	HAS BEEN COMPLETELY ANNIHILATED.
POPULAR LIBERATION COMMANDOS (CPL)	HAD A SMALL MILITARY MACHINE IN CORDOBA.	HAS BEEN COMPLETELY ANNIHILATED

SUBVERSION IN ARGENTINA GOES BACK TO 1959 WITH THE GUERRILLAS OF "COMMANDER UTURANCO", WHO HAD A MARXIST-PERONIST AFFILIATION. THIS GROUP OPERATED FOR SOME WEEKS IN THE TUCUMANO HILLS. IN 1965, A CASTROIST GROUP KNOWN AS THE POPULAR GUERRILLA ARMY, OPERATING TO THE EAST OF SALTA, ABANDONED ALL OTHER INTENTIONS IN ORDER TO JOIN THE CHE GUEVARA INCURSION IN BOLIVIAN TERRITORY. IN 1968, A GROUP OF THE FACTION THAT LATER CONSTITUTED THE FAP, PERONIST ARMED FORCES, WAS DESTROYED IN THE TUCUMAN PROVINCE BY THE PROVINCIAL POLICE. THE CAPTURE OF THE GUARD (TN: "THE GUARD" IS A UNIT WITHIN THE FIRST INFANTRY REGIMENT) OF THE 1ST INFANTRY REGIMENT ON FIELD MANEUVERS IN MAY, MARKED THE FIRST SUBVERSIVE MILITARY ACTION IN 1969.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE URBAN GUERRILLAS WAS DEVELOPED SECRETLY. IN 1965, IN A SECTOR OF THE CAPITOL, THE ARSENAL OF WHAT WAS TO BECOME THE ERP EXPLODED, KILLING SEVERAL MEMBERS OF THE "EL COMBATIENTE" FACTION OF THE PRT. BY THIS TIME, A LEFTIST FACTION KNOWN AS THE TACUARA NATIONALIST REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT (MNRT), WHICH WAS SEPARATED FROM THE MNT (TACUARA), HAD MADE CONTACT WITH THE FOUNDERS OF THE TUPAMAROS, WHO CURIOUSLY HAD THE SAME ABBREVIATED DESIGNATION.

IN 1970, TWO ORGANIZATIONS, THE FAL AND THE FAR, WERE FORMED FROM THE DIVERSE FACTIONS AND SUBDIVISIONS OF THE ELITE GROUPS OF THE YOUTH COMMUNIST FEDERATION (FJC). UNDER THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT, THE FAL, OF MAOIST IDEOLOGY, SUFFERED DECISIVE LOSSES FROM WHICH THEY NEVER RECOVERED. AS A RESULT, THE FAL ADOPTED A PROCESS OF ATOMIZING AND FACTIONING. THE FAR HAD IT'S ORIGINS IN CASTROISM. FAR WAS THE DENOMINATION OF THE FIDEL CASTRO GUERRILLA MOVEMENT. THE FAR WAS SLOWLY SHIFTING TO PERONISM. IT MERGED WITH THE MONTONEROS IN JUNE OF 1973.

THE FAP ALSO STARTED OPERATING IN 1970, BASED WITH ELITE GROUPS OF THE CGT "DE LOS ARGENTINOS", WHO LIBERATED RAIMUNDO ONGARO. HAVING LABOR FACTIONS AS IT'S MAIN MEANS OF ACTION, THE FAP NEVER MANAGED TO UNITE WITH THE MONTONEROS AND THE FAR. IT HAD TWO DIVISIONS: THE FAP-17, WHO LIBERATED DIBAR EL MADRE, ABANDONED THE ARMED STRUGGLE WHEN THE MONTONEROS BROKE WITH PERON; THE OTHER SECTION, LED BY CARLOS CARIDO, WAS INTEGRATED INTO THE MONTONEROS IN 1974.

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
DIA FOIA & Declassification Services Offices
Date: Oct 17, 2018

RECENTLY, THERE HAVE BEEN SOME EXPANDING ATTEMPTS TO UNIFY THE REST OF THE DIVERSE SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS IN ONE COMMON FRONT CALLED THE POPULAR LIBERATION ORGANIZATION (OLP).

SINCE THE 24TH OF MARCH, THE MAOIST GROUP "COMMUNIST VANGUARD" ALSO DECIDED TO GIVE UP THE ARMED STRUGGLE. THEY PARTICIPATED IN THE KIDNAPPING OF COLONEL JUAN ALBERTO PITA, WHO RECENTLY MANAGED TO ESCAPE FROM HIS CAPTORS. THIS GROUP HAS NOT TRIED TO FORM A MILITARY MACHINE.

IN GLOBAL TERMS, YOU COULD DEFINE SIX STAGES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SUBVERSION IN OUR COUNTRY:

1. THE VARIOUS FRUSTRATED ATTEMPTS TO DEVELOP A RURAL GUERRILLA MOVEMENT FROM 1959 TO 1969.

2. THE INITIATION OF SUBVERSIVE ACTIONS FROM 1969 TO 1971, CULMINATING IN 1970 WITH THE KIDNAPPING OF ARAMBURU, THE SEIZURE OF GARIN, ETC.

3. THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE ORGANIZATIONS AND THE CLARIFICATION OF THEIR POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL BELIEFS DURING 1974 AND 1975.

4. THE PRIMARILY POLITICAL ACTIONS THAT DEVELOPED DURING 1973 UNDER THE GOVERNMENT OF HECTOR J. CAMPORA AND THAT WERE PLANNED DURING THE FIRST SIX MONTHS OF 1974, WHEN THE ORGANIZATIONS TRANSITORILY DROPPED THE CLANDESTINENESS.

5. THE RE-INITIATION OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE AND THE LAUNCHING OF THE OFFENSIVES AGAINST THE ARMED FORCES IN 1974 AND 1975.

6. THE DEFEAT OF THE SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS, MARKED BY THE DESTRUCTION OF THE ERP IN TUCUMAN AND THE SEIZURE OF THE GOVERNMENT BY THE ARMED FORCES IN MARCH OF THIS YEAR.

THE 17-YEAR CYCLE OF ARMED SUBVERSION IN OUR COUNTRY IS CLOSELY RELATED TO SUBVERSIVE ACTIONS ON THE CONTINENT. IN 1959, THE CASTROIST GUERRILLA MOVEMENT ENJOYED SUCCESS IN CUBA. IN 1976, ALL THE NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES HAVE OVERCOME THEIR EXPERIENCES WITH SUBVERSION, LEAVING ARGENTINA WHERE THE STRUGGLE GOES ON WITH THE REMAINING GUERRILLA MOVEMENTS.

II. <u>MILITARY STRUCTURE OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY ARMY - ERP</u>

ORIGINS — IT WAS ORIGINATED IN THE DECISION OF THE "INTERNATIONAL IV", "UNIFIED SECRETARIAT" SECTION, TO MILITARIZE THE STRUGGLE IN LATIN AMERICA. THE DECISION WAS TAKEN DURING THE NINTH CONGRESS OF THE ORGANIZATION (PARIS, 1969). IN ARGENTINA, THIS WAS ACCOMPLISHED THROUGH THE WORKER'S REVOLUTIONARY PARTY, PRT.

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
DIA FOIA & Declassification Services Offices
Date: Oct 17, 2018

DIVISIONS

1. ERP "FRANJA ROJA" - FORMED IN JANUARY OF 1973 AFTER SANTUCHO'S TRIP TO CUBA, DUE TO THE QUESTIONING OF THE ERP'S TIES WITH THE "INTERNATIONAL IV".

2. ERP - "22D OF AUGUST" - FORMED IN JANUARY OF 1973 FROM A CONFRONTATION PRODUCED IN THE BUENOS AIRES REGION BY THE POSITION TO ADOPT THE PERONIST FRONT.

MILITARY STRUCTURE (IN 1975)

COMPOSED OF FOUR (4) COMBAT COMPANIES:

1. "HEROES OF TRELEW" COMPANY - OPERATING IN THE BUENOS AIRES PROVINCE. ATTACKED THE BLUE CAVALRY REGIMENT IN JANUARY OF 1974.

2. "DECIDIDOS DE CORDOBA" - OPERATING IN AN AROUND CORDOBA. TOOK THE MILITARY PLANT IN VILLA MARIA IN AUGUST OF 1974.

3. "SAN LORENZO COMPANY - OPERATING IN SANTA FE AND ALONG THE COAST. SEIZED THE BATTALION OF THE ROSARIO ARSENALS IN APRIL 1975.

4. "RAMON ROSA GIMENEZ" MOUNTAIN COMPANY - OPERATING IN TUCUMAN. A SECOND MOUNTAIN COMPANY WAS BEING FORMED IN THE FIRST PART OF 1975.

POLITICAL STRUCTURE

1. WORKER'S REVOLUTIONARY PARTY - THE IDEOLOGICAL NUCLEUS AND POLITICAL ARM OF THE ORGANIZATION.

2. GUEVARIST YOUTH - THE YOUTH ORGANIZATION OF THE ERP THAT WORKED WITH SECONDARY EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

3. "RESPUESTA ESTUDIANTIL" (TN: PROPER NAME, TRANSLATED MEANING: STUDENT'S RESPONSE") - COLLEGIATE GROUP OF STUDENTS WHO ADHERE TO THE POLITICAL LINES OF THE ERP.

INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF THE ERP

1. IN 1972, IT WAS SEPARATED FROM THE "INTERNATIONAL IV" BASED IN PARIS, FRANCE. OPERATIONS WERE MOVED TO THE CUBAN SPHERE OF INFLUENCE AND DEPENDED ON SUPPORT FROM THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST STRUCTURE.

2. IN 1974, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMAND OF THIS ORGANIZATION TRANSFERED TO LISBON, PORTUGAL.

3. RECENTLY THE ERP'S CENTER OF INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT HAD BEEN TRANSFERED TO SPAIN.

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
DIA FOIA & Declassification Services Offices
Date: Oct 17, 2018

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
DIA FOIA & Declassification Services Offices
Date: Oct 17, 2018

4. INTEGRATION OF THE JOINT REVOLUTIONARY COORDINATOR - JCR - FORMED BY THE MNT (URUGUAY), THE MIR (CHILE), THE ENL (BOLIVIA). RECENTLY, THE JCR HAS APPROACHED THE PTP (PARAGUAY) AND A SUBVERSIVE GROUP THAT OPERATES IN THE BRAZILIAN STATE OF PARANA.

THE FIRST ACTION OF THE ERP AS SUCH WAS THE EXPLOSION OF 17 BOMBS IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF ROSARIO AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF PAMPHLETS IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THAT CITY IN MARCH OF 1970. THAT SAME MONTH, ELEMENTS OF THE ERP WERE ACTIVE DURING THE "VIVORAZO" IN CORDOBA. THE KIDNAPPING OF A DIRECTOR OF A FOREIGN REFRIGERATION COMPANY THAT SAME YEAR PROVIDED THE ERP WITH A LARGE AMOUNT OF MONEY.

IN THE IDEOLOGICAL ASPECT, THE ERP HAD NOTABLE TROTSKYIST AFFILIATIONS FOLLOWING THE POLITICAL LINES OF THE UNIFIED SECRETARIAT FACTION OF THE "INTERNATIONAL IV" BASED IN PARIS, FRANCE. IN 1965 THERE WAS A SPLIT IN THE PRT (MORENO'S REVOLUTIONARY PARTY) OVER POLITICAL EXPRESSION OF TROTSKYISM IN THE LOCAL SCENE. THE "LA VERDAD" (TN: "THE TRUTH") FACTION OF THE PRT THAT EMERGED FROM THIS SPLIT WAS INTEGRATED IN 1970 INTO THE MORENO'S SOCIALIST PARTY, PST, WITHOUT GETTING INVOLVED IN THE ARMED STRUGGLE. THE OTHER FACTION OF THE PRT FORMED BY THE FUTURE WAS "EL COMBATIENTE" (TN: "THE COMBATANT") WHICH FORMED THE ERP FIVE YEARS LATER IN 1970.

THE ESCAPE OF MARIO ROBERTO SANTUCHO FROM THE RAWSON PENITENTIARY IN 1972 AND HIS SUBSEQUENT TRIP TO CUBA WAS A DECISIVE ACTION FOR THE IDEOLOGICAL ORIENTATION OF THE ERP. AS A RESULT OF SANTUCHO'S TRIP TO CUBA, THE ORGANIZATION SLOWLY SEPARATED FROM THE TROTSKYIST "INTERNATIONAL IV" AND ALIGNED ITSELF WITH THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST SPHERE, RECEIVING SUPPORT FROM THE RUSSIAN-CUBAN AXIS. DUE TO THIS CHANGE OF TRENDS IN JANUARY OF 1973, A SPLIT WAS PRODUCED IN THE BUENOS AIRES REGION, BECAUSE THE "FRANJA ROJA" FACTION MAINTAINED IT'S CONNECTIONS WITH THE "INTERNATIONAL IV".

AS A RESULT OF THE TRIUMPH OF HECTOR J. CAMPORA, THE ERP REMAINED INACTIVE UNTIL SEPTEMBER OF 1973, WHEN THEY ASSAULTED AND TOOK THE ARMY SANITATION COMMAND. THAT YEAR, THE ORGANIZATION DECIDED TO MILITARIZE THEIR TROOPS, ADOPTING MILITARY PATTERNS IN THEIR ORGANIZATION AND METHODOLOGY. THIS TENDENCY WAS ACCENTUATED DURING 1974 WITH THE ADOPTION OF MILITARY RANKS FOR THEIR PERSONNEL.

SIMULTANEOUSLY, THE ERP PLANNED AND DEVELOPED IT'S RURAL GUERRILLA BASES, WITH EMPHASIS IN THE SOUTHWESTERN PART OF THE TUCUMAN PROVINCE. AS ILLUSTRATIVE EVIDENCE, IT IS INTERESTING TO NOTE THAT A BROTHER OF MARIO ROBERTO SANTUCHO HAS HELD THE OFFICE OF PROVINCIAL DIRECTOR OF AERONAUTICS IN TUCUMAN SINCE 1973. THE CONSOLIDATION OF THIS RURAL GUERRILLA MOVEMENT TOOK PLACE IN THE LAST TRIMESTER OF 1974, WHEN THE MOUNTAIN COMPANY "RAMON ROSA GIMENEZ" REACHED THE RATE OF COMPLETING ONE OPERATION A DAY IN THE RURAL AREA OF TUCUMAN. AN EVOLUTIONARY IDEA OF THIS ORGANIZATION IS EVIDENCED BY THE IMPORTANCE GIVEN THEIR OPERATIONS AGAINST THE ARMY.

THE ACTIONS MENTIONED BELOW CHRONOLOGICALLY:

1. THE TAKING OF THE ARMY GARRISON COMMAND IN SEPTEMBER OF 1973.

2. ATTACK ON THE 10TH REGIMENT OF ARMORED INFANTRY OF TANDIL, WHERE THE ORGANIZATION WAS DEFEATED BUT MANAGED TO KIDNAP COLONEL ARGENTINO.

3. TAKING OF THE MILITARY PLANT AT VILLA MARIA IN AUGUST OF 1974 WHERE COLONEL LARRABURO WAS KIDNAPPED.

4. THE UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT TO SURPRISE THE 17TH AEROMOBILE INFANTRY REGIMENT IN THE CATAMARCA PROVINCE IN AUGUST OF 1974.

5. THE ASSASSINATION OF ARMED FORCES OFFICERS DURING THE LAST TRIMESTER OF 1974 THAT CULMINATED IN THE ASSASSINATION OF MAJOR VICLA AND HIS YOUNG DAUGHTER.

6. TAKING OF THE 121ST ARSENAL BATTALION IN SAN LORENZO, SANTA FE.

7. ATTEMPTED CAPTURE OF THE TACTICAL COM AND OUTPOST IN THE AREA OF FAMAILLA, TUCUMAN, IN APRIL OF 1975, WHERE THE ORGANIZATION WAS ROUTED AND LOST ALL OF IT'S CONCENTRATION IN MAY OF 1975.

8. BATTLES IN THE TUCUMAN AREA OF OPERATION IN SEPTEMBER OF 1975 WHEN 14 SUBVERSIVE ELEMENTS WERE ANNIHILATED AND THE MOUNTAIN COMPANY OF THE ERP WAS ROUTED IN ACHERAL.

9. ATTEMPTED CAPTURE OF THE 601ST ARSENAL BATTALION WHERE THE ORGANIZATION WAS ROUTED AND THE "HEROES OF TREJEN" COMPANY LOST ALMOST 100 OF IT'S MEMBERS.

THE FALL OF MARIO ROBERTO SANTUCHO AND THE HEADQUARTERS OF THIS GUERRILLA ORGANIZATION IN JULY OF THIS YEAR WAS THE ACTION THAT MARKED THE DEFINITE ROUTING OF THE ERP. SANTUCHO WAS LATER RELIEVED OF MILITARY COMMAND AND SENT TO CUBA TO ORGANIZE THE POLITICAL BUREAU, LEAVING MAXIMO MENA AT THE HEAD OF THE ORGANIZATION.

III. STRUCTURE OF THE MONTONEROS ORGANIZATION

ORIGINS — CREATED IN 1970 FROM THE FUSION OF NATIONALISTS, SOCIALISTS AND PERONIST MARXIST GROUPS. IT'S FIRST OPERATION WAS THE KIDNAPPING OF ARAMBURU.

DIVISIONS: 1. THE "SABINO NAVARRO" FACTION INCREASED IT'S AUTONOMY FROM THE ORGANIZATION IN THE SPRING OF 1973, LEANING MORE TO THE LEFT, AND SYMPATHIZING MORE WITH THE ERP-22 AND FAP.

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
DIA FOIA & Declassification Services Offices
Date: Oct 17, 2018

2. THE "ARTIGAS" FACTION SPLIT FROM THE ORGANIZATION IN FEBRUARY 1974 AS A RESULT OF PERON'S CURBING OF REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES.

MILITARY STRUCTURE

IT IS ORGANIZED WITH FOUR NATIONAL CHIEFS UNDER WHOM THE "FACTIONS" ARE GROUPED IN "REGIONS".

1. ONE OF THE NATIONAL CHIEFS IS MARIO FIRMENICH WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE POLITICAL FRONT. IT IS FELT THAT HE COULD BE OVERTHROWN IN A MATTER OF A FEW DAYS. (TN: NOT SPECIFIED IF THIS WOULD BE THE RESULT OF INTERNAL STRUGGLE OR GOVERNMENT GAINS).

2. ANOTHER OF THE CHIEFS IS VACA NARVAJA, WHO COMMANDED THE ATTACK ON THE 29TH REGIMENT OF MOUNTAIN INFANTRY AT FORMOSA.

3. THE THIRD ONE, MOLINA, WAS KILLED TWO MONTHS AGO DURING A FIRE FIGHT WITH THE ARMED FORCES IN GREATER BUENOS AIRES.

4. THE FOURTH ONE IS MENDIZABAL WHO JUST A FEW WEEKS AGO TOOK REFUGE IN THE EMBASSY OF VENEZUELA. HE HAS ALSO GIVEN A PRESS CONFERENCE IN WHICH ANA MARIA GONZALES WAS INTRODUCED.

POLITICAL STRUCTURE

1. THE CGT OF "RESISTANCIA" HEART OF THE CENTRIST UNION WORKERS, CREATED BY THE ORGANIZATION AND BASED ON SYNDICATED LABOR UNIONS.

2. THE REAL PERONIST PARTY (PPA), POLITICAL ARM OF THE ORGANIZATION.

3. THE PERONIST UNIVERSITY YOUTH (JUP) UNIVERSITY LINK WITH THE ORGANIZATION.

---

4. THE UNION OF SECONDARY COLLEGE STUDENTS (UES) WHICH OPERATES IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS.

5. THE CLANDESTINE INFORMATION AGENCY (ANCLA), RESPONSIBLE FOR RELEASE OF NEWS TO THE MEDIA, ALSO PUBLISHING OF REVIEWS IN WESTERN EUROPE.

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
DIA FOIA & Declassification Services Offices
Date: Oct 17, 2018

INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES

1. COUNTING ON THE SUPPORT OF CUBA IN INDIRECT FORM.

2. ORGANIZATION OF A POLITICAL REFUGEE AID CENTER IN AUSTRIA, WITH THE SUPPORT OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

3. CLOSE TIES WITH THE ENGLISH LEFTIST PARTY AS EVIDENCED DURING THE LAST "CIT" CONFERENCE IN GENEVA.

4. ORGANIZATION OF AN INFORMATION RELEASE CENTER IN SPAIN WITH THE COOPERATION OF VARIOUS PUBLISHERS AND EXILED INTELLECTUALS.

THE ORIGINS OF THE MONTONEROS ORGANIZATION ARE WIDESPREAD BECAUSE OF THE HETEROGENEITY OF IT'S FIRST MEMBERS, WHO INCLUDED INDIVIDUALS FROM THE NATIONAL CHURCH (TN: PROBABLY MEANING THAT MEMBERS OF THE CLERGY JOINED THE ORGANIZATION). THE KIDNAPPING AND ASSASSINATION OF ARAMBURU WAS THE FIRST ACTION UNDERTAKEN BY THE ORGANIZATION AS SUCH. SOME OF IT'S MEMBERS HAD PARTICIPATED IN THE ASSASSINATIONS OF THE SYNDICATE LEADERS VANDOR AND ALONSO.(TN: SYNDICATE MEANS LABOR UNION OR ORGANIZATION. NO RELATION WITH ORGANIZED CRIME.).

IT'S IDENTITY TIES WITH PERONIST HELPED POSITIVELY IN OBTAINING POPULARITY DURING THE FIRST YEARS (1970-1973) WHICH ALLOWED IT TO WIDEN IT'S RECRUITING AND LOGISTIC NETWORK. IT'S UNIFICATION WITH THE FAR (REVOLUTIONARY ARMED FORCES) IN JUNE OF 1973 HAD DECISIVE IMPORTANCE FOR TWO REASONS: A/ THEY BECAME DEPENDENT ON A FIGHTING GROUP, WHICH LACKING KNOWLEDGE OF WEAPONS AND WHICH WAS LACKING MILITARY ORGANIZATION. B/ THIS ACTION HAD DECISIVE INFLUENCE WHICH RESULTED IN THE MIDDLE OF 1973 IN A CHANGE OF LINE AND A TURN TOWARD A POSITION OF A PURELY MARXIST TENDENCY FOR PART OF THE ORGANIZATION.

ONE THING WHICH INFLUENCED THE IDEOLOGICAL ORIENTATION, AS MUCH AS THE ERP DID, WAS THE TRIP TO CUBA OF THE ESCAPED PRISONERS FROM RAWSON PENITENTIARY, THE MONTONEROS MEMBERS FIRMENICH AND VACA NARVAJA, AND IT HAD THE DECISIVE EFFECT TO BRING THE ORGANIZATION INTO THE ORBIT OF THE RUSSIAN-CUBAN AXIS. BY THE SAME TOKEN, IT ACCENTUATED THE IDEOLOGICAL TENDENCY OF THEIR GUIDANCE.

THE 25TH OF MAY 1973, THEY PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED THE END OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE. THIS SITUATION PREVAILED UNTIL LAST MAY OF 1974, WHEN THE PERONIST REVOLUTIONARY PARTY, INTEGRATED IN THE MONTONEROS. ORGANIZATION BROKE DEFINITIVELY WITH PERON. IN SEPTEMBER OF THAT YEAR, THEY FORMALLY WENT INTO HIDING AFTER A PRESS CONFERENCE GIVEN BY THE SAME FIRMENICH.

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
DIA FOIA & Declassification Services Offices
Date: Oct 17, 2018

UNTIL THEN, THE GROWING POLITICAL STRUCTURE WAS CONTROLLED BY:

1. THE AUTHENTIC PERONIST PARTY (PPA), OF POLITICAL ORIENTATION WHICH SUCCEEDED IN HAVING 70,000 CARD-CARRYING MEMBERS 16 ELECTORAL DISTRICTS, AND A RESULT OBTAINED RECOGNITION AS A POLITICAL PARTY.

2. THE PERONIST UNIVERSITY YOUTH, WHICH IS ACTIVE AS A PARTY IN HIGHER LEVEL EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS.

3. THE UNION OF SECONDARY STUDENTS (UES), ACTIVE IN MIDDLE EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS.

---

4. THE PERONIST YOUTH (JP) WHICH IS ACTIVE AMONG THE YOUTH CIRCLES.

5. THE PERONIST YOUTH WORKERS (JTP) WHICH WAS ACTIVE AMONG THE SYNDICATED CIRCLES AND, BECAUSE OF THIS, WAS KNOWN AS THE "SYNDICATE BLOCK".

6. THE "EVITA GROUP" WHICH APPEALED TO WOMEN CIRCLES (TN: EVITA WAS PERON'S FIRST SPOUSE).

7. THE "VILLERO PERONIST MOVEMENT" (MVP) WHICH OPERATED IN SPECIAL STATUS TOWNS.

8. THE "INQUILINOS" (TN: INQUILINO TRANSLATES AS INMATES) PERONIST MOVEMENT WHICH GATHERED TO THE INMATES WHO BECAME MEMBERS OF THE ORGANIZATION.

9. THE PERONIST YOUTH STUDENTS MOVEMENT (MIP) WHICH PENETRATED SOME OF THE PRIMARY COLLEGES IN THE SANTA FE REGION.

ALL OF THIS ORGANIZATION SHOWS THEIR PENETRATION INTO THE SOCIAL CIRCLES, WHICH RENDERS THEIR ELIMINATION DIFFICULT.

IN DECEMBER, THE SITUATION OF THE MONTONEROS COULD BE SUMMARIZED AS FOLLOWS:

1. THE DEFEAT OF THE ERP HAS FREED MAJOR ELEMENTS OF THE ARMED FORCES AND SECURITY UNITS FOR ACTION AGAINST THIS ORGANIZATION, WHICH IS STARTING TO BE EVIDENCED BY RECENT ACTIONS.

2. THE ORGANIZATION SUFFERED CONSIDERABLE LOSSES IN IT'S POLITICAL AND MILITARY ELEMENTS WHICH IS CAUSING IT TO REORGANIZE AT IT'S PRIMARY LEVEL.

3. IT IS A HARDSHIP ON THEM. NEVERTHELESS THEY STILL HAVE MEANS TO CONDUCT INDISCRIMINATE OR SELECTIVE TERRORIST ACTS, WITH THE PRIME OBJECTIVE TO SHOW THEIR STRENGTH AT A TIME WHEN THE SUBVERSION IN GENERAL IS SUFFERING GROWING LOSSES.

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
DIA FOIA & Declassification Services Offices
Date: Oct 17, 2018

4. THE ORGANIZATION SEEMS TO HAVE PLACED EMPHASIS IN CONCENTRATING EFFORTS ON REORGANIZING: PLANNING TO PUSH THE FORMATION OF THE RESISTANCE CGT, ORGANIZING IT IN DISTINCT ZONES IN THE COUNTRY, WITH THE BACKBONE COMPOSED OF PERONIST YOUTH WORKERS AND THE SYNDICATED BLOCK.

BASED ON RECENT INFORMATION AND TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE SUCCESS OBTAINED BY THE ARMED FORCES IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE MONTONEROS, THE OUTLOOK SEEMS TO POINT OUT TO THE FALL OF MARIO FIRMENICH IN THE VERY DISTANT FUTURE.

END OF TRANSLATION

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
DIA FOIA & Declassification Services Offices
Date: *Oct 17, 2018*